The Void in Communism

—Gunnar D. Kumlier

THE

Commonweal

NEHRU OF INDIA

by Jerome D'Souza

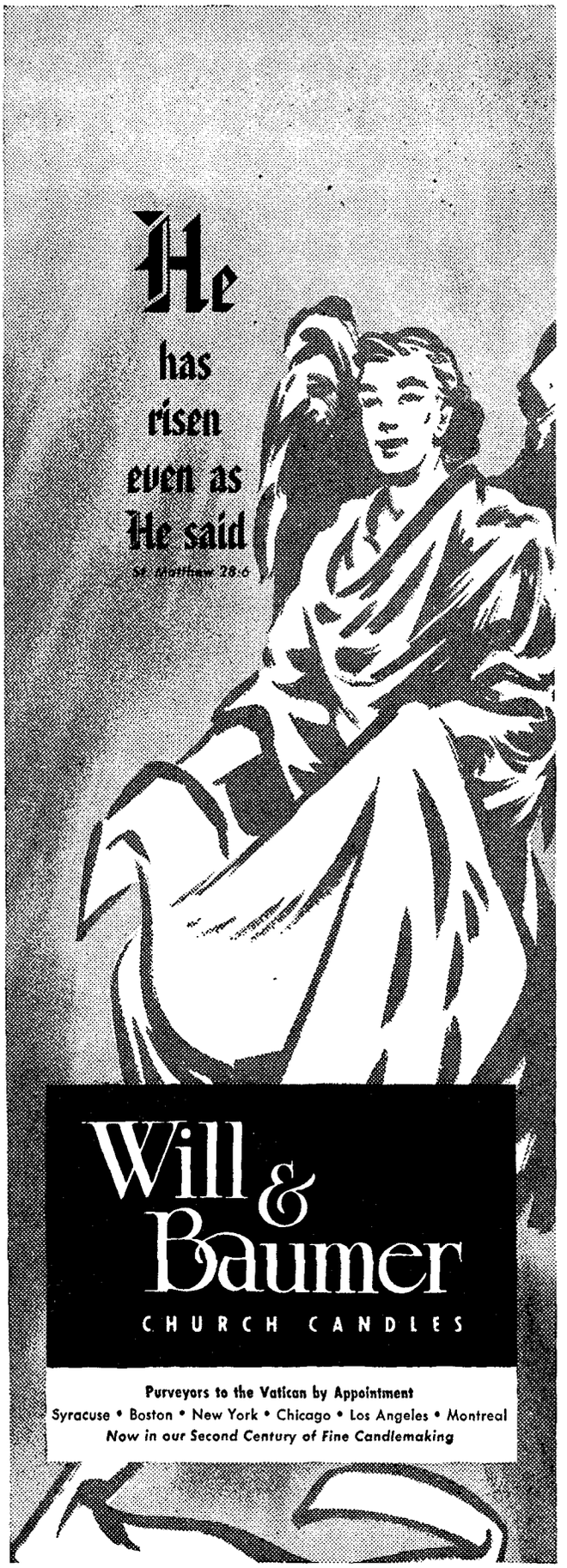
Frank Getlein Robert Ludlow

Nicholas Joost Jean Holzhauer John Cogley

John Logan Harold C. Hinton

Volume LXII, No. 1 April 8, 1955 Twenty Cents

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THIS WEEK

Week by Week 3

Nehru of India
by Jerome D'Souza 7

Monologue for the Good Friday Christ
by John Logan 10

The Void in Communism
by Gunnar D. Kumlien 11

"I've Got a Little List"
by John Cogley 13

The Stage
by Richard Hayes 14

The Screen
by Philip T. Hartung 14

Of Note 15

Communications 17

Books 19

THE COMMONWEAL
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16

Editor
EDWARD S. SKILLIN

Managing Editor
JAMES O'GARA

Associate Editors
WILLIAM P. CLANCY, WILLIAM PFAFF

Contributing Editors
PHILIP BURNHAM
JOHN C. CORT
ANNE FREMANTLE
PHILIP T. HARTUNG
RICHARD HAYES

JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Orange, Conn., under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly, printed and copyrighted 1955, in the U. S. A. by the Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y., MUrray Hill 3-9685.

U. S. and Canada, $7.50 a year. Foreign, $9.50. Single copies 20¢

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Commonweal

week by week

EASTER, 1955

THE terrible difference between Christian Hope and the world's fulfillment has never been more starkly pointed up than at this Eastertime. While the Church sings alleluia, exulting in the triumph of Life, the world prepares for death. "This is a holiday of the Lord's own choosing; greet this day with rejoicing; greet this day with triumph," the Church bids Christians. But, "we are burning daylight; the darkness is coming on in the East," an American Senator warns the world.

As we recall Christ's victory, knowing that He is truly risen, we know once again that, ultimately, all things will be well—because, for the Christian, there is no ultimate defeat: "Death with life contended: combat strangely ended! Life's own Champion slain, yet He lives to reign." We thus know once more that men and their civilizations come and go, but that Life is everlasting. There is no final tragedy. And yet—and yet—who can fail to acknowledge the burden of tragedy as the world slowly, almost indifferently, certainly mindlessly, moves toward atomic disaster? Who can ignore the irony that out of the East, whence came the world's Salvation, may now come its destruction?

Because this spring we are very close to destruction. No one talks much about it, but there it is, straight ahead of us. Everything on the surface seems normal, of course. It is difficult to imagine that by September perhaps, or by 1956, or 1958, or perhaps sooner than any of these dates, the thing may have happened—without anyone's having wanted it to happen, without anyone's really knowing how or why. Situations never in very firm hands will have gotten completely out of control. This world we know will have ended, with a bang and a whimper, and it will have been so easy to have destroyed so much.

Alexander Pope did not realize how very true it is that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. We have a little knowledge of thermonuclear weapons —enough to know how to make them, enough, perhaps, to poison the atmosphere and make life on this planet impossible—and we have thus brought a new force, a new determinant, into history. But we have not yet learned to take account of this new force in our practical calculations. We continue to think in terms that the new force has made meaningless—terms like "war" and "retaliation" and "victory." Our logic is still the logic of bullets, and we place ourselves in situations where bullets might have saved us. But no great power can stop at bullets these days; we know that we will not. And thus we prepare the world to be a cemetery.

FACING this, what should be the Christian's attitude? With his certainty of final triumph guaranteed by Christ's Resurrection, with his sure knowledge that, in the end, all will be well, what should be his judgment on this world as it prepares its funeral pyre? "The earth trembles and is silent when God rises up to execute His sentence," we read in the Offertory of the Easter Mass. It is easy for the Christian to take comfort in this. What might soon befall the world can be considered God's sentence on the world. For the secular humanist the destruction of his civilization is the final, unthinkable, unbearable defeat. It is The End. But the Christian has always known that here is no abiding city, that God's judgment lies upon it. He knows too that this world's destruction would not be The End. And so he may, at this Eastertime, be tempted to write off a world which seems, in any event, already to have written off itself. He may feel that all he can now do is retreat to the Absolute.

But such an attitude would betray the Christian vocation, which is not to abandon but to save the world. The Christian cannot allow himself the luxury of despair even when the darkness seems everywhere about. He cannot merely retreat to his own certainties and fortify himself against disaster with his ultimate optimism. Christ wept over the things that were to come upon Jerusalem. His followers too must concern themselves with their time and place. Knowing that, in the final sense, everything depends on God, they must still act as though

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

everything depended on them. Realizing the evil at work in modern history, and its probable results, they must yet avoid withdrawal from the world—leaving it to its own devices.

This civilization may indeed be lost beyond all human retrieving but we cannot act as if it were. In the gathering darkness we must continue to seek some light, some new path, some way out of the night. Here the Easter hope can sustain us as we pray in the words of the feast's Collect: "God, Who on this day through Thy only begotten Son hast vanquished death and unlocked for us the gate of everlasting life: help us to fulfill the longings Thou hast Thyself planted in our hearts."

RISING LIVING STANDARD

THERE is a strange contrast between the terrible dangers that threaten the American people from without and their growing sense of domestic material well-being. While anxiety deepens about drifting into an atom war over Matsu and Quemoy signs multiply that as far as living standards go the nation has never been so well off.

Several recent news items provide striking demonstrations. A House agricultural committee has just reported that American industrial workers are now able to buy more food for an hour's labor "than in any earlier period of history." An hour's work will procure an average of ten pounds of bread, or two pounds of steak, or 7.8 quarts of milk or thirty-five pounds of potatoes.

The Commerce Department supplies corroborative evidence in its latest statistics on the income level. In 1953 some fifty-five per cent of American families had annual incomes of $4,000 or more, while forty-one per cent had $5,000 or over. Since 1947, with only slightly higher living costs, income per family has risen thirty per cent. Few will deny that this is an impressive achievement on the part of American capitalism.

Increases such as these, and an average family income of $5,330 in 1954, point to certain virtues of our "American system" of expanding production, high wages and widely distributed purchasing power. They supply a sharp contrast even to Western Europe where, by and large, the worker is still unable to purchase much of the production of his nation's factories. In the United States there can be no mistaking that an extraordinary degree of national prosperity is widely shared.

These are gratifying reflections but they should hardly lead to a sense of social complacency. In the matter of income alone there are many weak spots which lie concealed beneath the average figures. There are certain genuine distress areas, such as the Mohawk River valley in upstate New York, where the closing of large plants in one-industry towns has thrown thousands out of gainful employment. There is the constantly shrinking coal industry and the havoc unemployment is causing among the miners in Alabama, Southern Illinois, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and the Mountain States.

Beyond that there is a whole range of occupations that are underpaid for various reasons: the workers' lack of organization and bargaining power, precarious company finances, the use of foreign labor ignorant of, and unable to press for, basic rights. And then there are millions of ill-prepared, poorly adjusted or otherwise handicapped individuals who are unequal to supporting their families at an adequate level.

Large sectors of our farm population now find themselves in difficulties. For example, many owners of family-size farms are so hamstrung by present regulations reducing wheat, cotton and tobacco acreages as to be unable to make ends meet.

The well-being of those citizens and imported workers who are not sharing the present state of national prosperity is obviously an end worthy in

NEXT WEEK

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON, in the Spring Education issue, considers some of the problems and implications of a new program of Christian Culture studies:

"We have to ask ourselves are we Catholics *who happen to live* in England or America, or are we English or Americans who happen to attend a Catholic church on Sundays. There is no doubt which is the New Testament view; there the Christians are one people in the full sociological sense, but scattered among different cities and peoples. But today we mostly take the opposite view, so that our national cultures are the only culture we have and our religion has to exist either on a sublimated supercultural level or on a sectarian subcultural one. Thus the sociological problem of a Christian culture is also the psychological problem of integration and spiritual health. I am convinced that this is the key issue. Personally I would prefer a Ghetto culture to no religious culture at all, but under modern conditions the Ghetto solution is no longer really practicable. We must make an effort to achieve an open Catholic culture which is sufficiently conscious of the value of its own tradition to be able to meet secularist culture on an equal footing."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

itself. But their fate also has important effects on the general state of national prosperity. American industry is dependent on enjoying a sustained demand in the nation's farm areas. And ultimately American industry depends on the achievement of greater prosperity in other areas of the world.

With consumer credit at a new peak of thirty billion dollars at the turn of the year (in addition to seventy-five billions in home mortgage loans) it can be seen how essential it is to strengthen the weak sectors in the American economy. Today from one-half to seven-tenths of all durable goods sold in this country are bought on the instalment plan. When employment and wages are not maintained, sections of the sensitive economic structure are threatened with collapse. The American economy still includes many sectors that require looking into.

SHIFT IN FOREIGN AID

NOW that Western Europe has increased its output and stabilized its currency to the point that it is able to fend for itself, the bulk of American foreign aid is destined for other regions. House economizers meanwhile have cut in half President Eisenhower's requested foreign aid appropriations. They extend a deaf ear to reports that poverty and restiveness are growing in Latin America, an area too long neglected in favor of our commitments elsewhere. They also stubbornly oppose assistance on the scale required to build up the economies of the nations of Asia that are still free. At the same time Soviet Russia is moving in to take up the slack in several countries.

The UN's Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East puts the need of that area in specific terms. Capital for economic development is patently hard to come by in lands where low per-capita income is the rule. Yet the abysmal poverty and unrest of the Far East cannot otherwise be overcome. The commission estimates that outside of Japan (and Communist China) some three billion dollars are needed annually for setting up the new productive facilities required and carrying on developments already under way.

This represents the over-all total for capital investment from outside. It includes both governments and private investments, the United States and many other countries. Washington would be expected to contribute a substantial share. In fact, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., told the Senate Appropriations Committee, March 28, that a big cut in the American contribution would lead other nations to abandon the United Nations Technical Assistance Program.

In the main the UN commission is able to report considerable progress in farm output, stabilization of currency and increase of consumers goods throughout the non-Communist Asian area. There is much to work with there. The stakes for these underproductive peoples, and for the free world generally, are incalculable. Hence the key importance of the efforts in the Senate to restore the fifty per cent cut which the House made in the UN Technical Assistance budget item.

BIG-FOUR CONFERENCE

SENATOR George broke the ice. His proposal that a meeting of the four leading powers be held was the initiative needed to bring about a conference of Foreign Ministers, and he, perhaps better than the President, was in a position to take the initiative. His vast experience in foreign policy and unimpeachable conservatism neutralized the right-wing Republican protest that might otherwise have blocked the President. And it is well that Senator George proposed the meeting, not because the meeting can be expected to accomplish great things, but because it is in the interests of the Atlantic Alliance that a meeting take place.

Talk of coexistence, disarmament agreements and cold war settlements is popular now in some circles; in the opinion of this magazine, such talk is a search for fool's gold. We have in the past expressed the reasons for our opinion that there simply is no basis for any kind of fundamental world settlement. Tactical truces—yes; and if we are fortunate something of that kind will come from this conference. But the character of totalitarian government itself makes it impossible for either China or the Soviet Union to come to a long-term settlement without denying their own ideology and the perverse dynamism of their political organism. And the pitiable state of the captive peoples makes it unthinkable that the West agree to permanent division of the world. It is one thing reluctantly to acknowledge the terrible fact of totalitarian domination of a half of the world; it is quite another thing to ratify that division.

No agreements or settlements of a permanent nature can come from the conference Mr. George proposed. Why, then, should there be a conference? The answer is quite simple: the Western Alliance, upon which our security rests, demands a conference; a conference may produce tactical changes in the cold war which might, for one thing, ease the heated China situation.

Ever since May of 1953, when Sir Winston Churchill first proposed the "meeting at the sum-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mit," the people of Western Europe have wanted one more big conference. Partially the demand came from the fear of hydrogen war and the reluctance to see Germany rearmed. Partially it came from a recognition that the agreement to rearm Germany —now given final approval by the French legislature—alters the European situation so as to increase considerably Western strength and pose the possibility of Soviet concessions. The Soviets do hint that they might sign the Austrian treaty, and if at a foreign ministers' conference this spring they agree to restore Austrian independence, soon after, there undoubtedly will be a meeting of Mr. Eisenhower with the chiefs of state of Britain, France and Russia.

The big immediate reason for a foreign ministers' conference, the motive which prompted Senator George to act, is the fear of imminent war in Asia. Senator George is not optimistic about the possibility of a conference's stopping the drift towards war. Indeed, so long as that war did not open out into general war, it would be useful to the Soviets. And the Chinese seem willing to gamble that they would not be hurt badly enough to make the venture unprofitable. Only the chance that the Soviet Union fears the possible consequences of that war, only the chance that China could be calmed by words from Moscow, make it possible that a conference would stave off a clash. But a conference would make our allies much less reluctant to support our policies and would help them to understand our dilemma. The need for reconciling Western interests has been growing, and this conference, were it preceded by careful Western planning and joint staff work, would be a useful thing. And at this moment, we must make the most of small blessings.

THE SENATOR AND THE SQUIRRELS

IT seems that gray squirrels, a kind of rodent known to its familiars as *Sciurinae carolinensis,* were damaging the putting green on the White House lawn. The President, who is as annoyed by an uncurried green as the next golfer, asked that something be done. (He can't do anything about the passers-by staring through the White House fence or the tireless photographers with telephoto lenses; you would think that one thing a President *could* do something about is a plague of *Sciurinae carolinensis* with unpared toenails). Down the White House corridors the cry was passed: Something Must Be Done! And in the Senate, the distinguished Mr. Barkley found a Biblical paraphrase in order: "Foxes have holes, the birds of the air have nests; but the son of man hath nowhere to putt."

An electronics expert came and made high-pitched noises on the White House lawn. The squirrels seemed to enjoy hi-fi. The electronics expert had booted his big chance, and he packed and went away. The United States Army Signal Corps came and made low-pitched disagreeable noises. The squirrels seemed indifferent, and the Signal Corps packed up and went back to cranking field phones. Then a simple trapper came. He trapped the squirrels and carried them off, two to Rock Creek Park in Washington, one to Virginia.

But then a white knight was made out on the horizon. The white knight was a freshman Senator from, he incessantly reminds us, the Far West; riding out of the Far West he came, full of ambition and publicity ideas. "Save the squirrels!" he cried into the microphones. He was starting a fund, he told the reporters, to save the beloved little gray rodent from banishment to the uncharted wilds of Rock Creek Park and the forbidding forests of Virginia.

White House spokemen withdrew into a fog of no comments. Two days later, after taut policy consultations, they admitted defeat. The *Sciurinae carolinensis* will not be molested. The President had lost. And young Lochinvar, what about him? Last seen, he was searching Rock Creek Park for those two squirrels to carry them back to the White House lawn. But as night fell, he gave up. They look so much alike, those squirrels, and then the light was getting bad for television.

N. B.

IN our March 18 issue we published "The Morality of Nuclear War," an article in which Father F. H. Drinkwater argued that the Christian conscience cannot tolerate the use or even the manufacture of thermonuclear weapons. In an introductory note to this article we expressed our hope that its appearance would promote discussion of one of the most pressing problems of our time.

The *Indiana Catholic and Record,* the vigorous newspaper of the Archdiocese of Indianapolis, promptly took up the idea in an editorial and presented a strong refutation of Father Drinkwater's thesis. The editorial is reprinted on page 15 of this issue of The Commonweal.

The Indianapolis paper's editorial is, of course, not authoritative. Neither was Father Drinkwater's article. But both represent a possible position for Christians today. We trust that the debate will continue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nehru of India

"TO UNDERSTAND HIS POLICY WE MUST UNDERSTAND THE MAN, THE QUALITIES OF HIS MIND AND HEART"

JEROME D'SOUZA

IT is probable that no foreign statesman puzzles the American public so much as does Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India. There are of course those who do not admit being puzzled; they are sure that Nehru and his most prominent adviser on foreign policy, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, are crypto-Communists secretly playing the game of the Communist countries, and unwilling to come out in the open in order the better to serve their purposes. It is not much use entering into a discussion with these people. I address myself rather to those who are generally sympathetic to India, realize the importance of her role in the defense of democracy, and yet find the declarations of Mr. Nehru, his comments on international affairs, his frequent disagreement with the stand taken by the United States, exasperating or frustrating.

The perplexity of many in the United States over Nehru's intentions has been increased by recent events. Foremost among them was the Prime Minister's visit to China and his public tributes to the achievements, and to the peaceful intentions, of the Communist regime. Then there is his strong disagreement with—if not active opposition to—the policy of the Western powers in building up an anti-Communist Southeast Asian Defense Organization. On the domestic front, Pandit Nehru, soon after his return from China, declared that the objective of the Congress Party, hitherto said to be the setting up of a welfare state, was the creation of a socialistic pattern of society in which there would be social ownership of the more important sources of production and a better distribution of wealth and goods. All these seemed to be undisguised moves towards the Left, leaving little room for "neutrality" or non-alignment. But to confound those who believed this came, soon after, Nehru's exceptionally vigorous denunciations of the Communists in India, his stern warnings against their use of violence, and his withering sarcasm for their old-fashioned and unprogressive "dogmatism." To crown all this has come the resounding victory of the Congress Party in the Andhra State elections fought on the issue of Communist versus Congress policy. Before the elections the Communists had 46 members in a House of 146. Now they have 15 in a House of 196.

What is the American observer to think of all this? Is it possible to discover a coherent pattern in this maze of apparent contradictions? I think it is possible to do so, and owing to the relevance of the subject to the problem of international peace, I think it worth while to attempt it.

PANDIT Nehru is not a cold intellectual whose approach to public affairs is that of the doctrinaire, manipulating abstract ideas without allowing the play of temperament and personality. Courage and sincerity are at the root of Nehru's character. His policy is the expression of that character, and its apparent contradictions are the projections of his efforts to see the light and follow it as he sees it. Hence to understand his policy we must understand the man, the qualities of his mind and heart, and the marks that life and its varied experiences have left upon him.

The basic thing to know about Jawaharlal Nehru is that he is a warmly sympathetic man whose instinctive approach to men and things is one of liking and understanding. Antipathies and hatreds are not the moving impulses of his life. His is not a negative but a positive character. He is "for" something, and only "against" its opposite because that is unavoidable; his instinct is not to worry about the opposite. This makes it difficult for him to be a strong party man. He sees too much of the other man's point of view to be intolerant. He speaks much and on all sorts of occasions. Yet he never gives the impression of making set speeches but always of thinking aloud, of making an effort to explore a problem along with his hearers. It is this which makes him a fascinating speaker, with a power to capture an audience unique in the country. A journalist once described him as the Hamlet of Asia. There is an element of profound truth in this. It explains his attractiveness as also his curious hesitations and uncertainties.

Father Jerome D'Souza, S.J., director of the Social Institute in Poona, formerly represented India at the United Nations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The outstanding fruit of his sympathy is his passionate love of the masses of India, once politically subject, and still very poor. Nehru "discovered" this India of the peasant and the worker in adolescence, after his upbringing in a rich family and a long spell of education in England—Harrow and Cambridge. When he returned to India he came under the spell of Mahatma Gandhi and consecrated all his time and

energies to the task of Indian freedom. For him, and for Gandhi, freedom was not for the sake of power and the development of national pride but for the happiness of the masses, for the struggle against poverty, ignorance, and disease. Rather too sweepingly he attributed all these ills to foreign domination and foreign exploitation. But from the very beginning, freedom and social justice, political liberty and some degree of economic well-being, have been indissolubly linked in his mind. All the paradoxes of his future action and speech arise from this double passion, the passion for liberty and the passion for social justice —for equality in the measure that it can be attained.

THE passion for liberty, with special emphasis on liberty of speech and of thought—this is Nehru's major motivation. It is based upon the liberal tradition which he imbibed from his English education and from his opposition to the Press laws in India, which landed him repeatedly in British prisons. Moreover, the English liberal tradition came to him impregnated with pride in scientific and material progress. It gave him that tendency to intellectual relativism, that insistence on the dynamism of life and ideas, on the continued shifting of values, which would be disturbing and would make for opportunism in politics if they had not been guided in him by a strong sense of permanent moral values. This sense is no doubt the fruit of Nehru's Hindu background, and of his close association with Mahatma Gandhi. But his love of liberty makes him an unequivocal adversary of the Communists and their adhesion to dogmas he considers outmoded and to economic theories he thinks are not applicable to the present epoch. And, incidentally, his opposition to "dogma" limits his sympathy for the Catholic Church for which he has, on other grounds, very considerable respect.

Next, there is Nehru's passion for human equality and for social justice. Now many reasons exist why this ideal of social justice cannot be realized in India by private effort. There are caste conventions and prejudices which perpetuate social injustice and which can be ended only by the action of the state. Hence the suppression of Untouchability by law, as in former times the prevention of Suttee and of Child Marriage. Then again as regards material improvement, there is in India a lack of industrial tradition, and an insufficiency of private capital to ensure the fullest utilization of national resources so as to increase production and raise the standard of living of the masses. Hence the need for the Indian state to undertake many enterprises itself. Pandit Nehru has always believed in planning. Even before the independence of India, he had been instrumental in setting up a Planning Committee under the aegis of the Congress Party. The Planning Commission of Independent India and our two Five Year Plans are the realization of that early dream. In this belief in the need for and the efficacy of planning, Pandit Nehru's faith in scientific methods for industrial progress and his love of the poor are combined in equal measure.

The system of democratic planning and state control which India has adopted has undoubtedly been influenced by the example of England. It is this faith in a planned economy which has led to widespread appreciation of the achievements of Russia and China in the industrial and social fields. The conviction that we have much to learn from those countries is honestly held by many in India, and sedulously spread by others. Hence, too, the popularity of Nehru's foreign policy which, while it is based upon the desire not to be involved in a possible third world war, implies more sympathy for, or at any rate less antipathy to, the governments of Russia and China than is possible in other democratic countries.

WE should be able to see why, in spite of the fundamental identity between India and America as regards devotion to the democratic ideal, there are points of divergence which Pandit Nehru cannot help emphasizing in his declarations of policy and in his intervention in international affairs. The American economy has developed in conditions of the widest industrial freedom. American resources and the actual and potential wealth of America are such that the widest differences of wealth need not interfere with general well-being and the maintenance of social and personal equality. The land of the millionaire has not ceased to be the land of the common man and of the most unconventional mingling of high and low. In

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

India, however, it is impossible to achieve the same results by employing the same means. The historical antecedents in the two countries are totally different.

There are other dissimilarities between America and the India of Nehru's dreams, which increase the sense of divergence. Though not a believer in religion in the ordinary sense of the term, Pandit Nehru is very far from being a materialist in his practical approach to life. His appreciation of the things of the spirit, his love of science and art, his profound sense of history, and his personal austerity and simplicity of life are essential elements of his complex personality. Hence the practical materialism and the pursuit of comfort and pleasure, which to him seem characteristic of America, cannot but repel him. He certainly does not believe that the "American way of life," particularly in those aspects which tend to be most easily imitated abroad, is a good or practicable model for India.

TO aggravate these divergences on what may be called the attitude on life, there is definite disagreement between India and America regarding the means of preserving peace, and on United States policy toward the Eastern bloc. There is no doubt at all that the objective of America is the preservation of peace, just as it is the objective of India. But America is convinced that this can be done only by the maintenance of military strength and by impressing upon the Communist bloc that aggression would mean a losing war for them. Nehru, however, believes that the policy of rearmament and the threat of massive retaliation leads only to a suicidal race in armaments, and that the negotiation of military agreements increases rather than diminishes the danger of war. Which of

the two views is based upon a correct understanding of the psychology of the Communist powers? Possibly both are right: the Communists might not have held out any hope of coexistence if Western strength was not so formidable; but now that they do talk of it, a reexamination of Western policy may be desirable.

Whatever the reasons, India believes that the Communist powers are actually as much in need of peace as is the Democratic bloc, and that if mutual fears of aggression were eliminated the two sides *would* settle down to some kind of practical coexistence. India is convinced of this more particularly in regard to her own relations with China. Hence her support for the recognition of China and her efforts to live in friendship with her. India does not feel that she needs to arm herself against possible attack by China, at least not to the extent of entering into a military alliance with the West and accepting foreign military aid. She believes that "Panchshila," the five principles of peaceful coexistence and mutual non-interference, can regulate her relations with China for good.

Behind this attitude on rearmament and military alliance, is there on the part of Pandit Nehru and the Indian people generally something of the traditional pacifism characteristic of India and reflected in the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi on "Ahimsa," or nonviolence? This is more than probable. In the better minds of India there is an instinctive horror of violence and bloodshed. For Pandit Nehru this horror is reinforced by his passionate pity for the poor and his conviction that the masses, rather than the rulers of the country, have to pay for war. Weapons of mass destruction are for him the "embodiment of evil" as he once described the atom bomb. Though there are significant expressions of opposition in India and in the Indian Parliament to Nehru's attitude toward China, and warnings of the need to arm against possible Communist aggression—warnings strengthened by the ominous approach of China to the Indian frontier from the vantage ground of Tibet—it is safe to say that the vast majority of Indians support the Prime Minister's policy toward China and the problem of Southeastern Asian defense.

The areas of divergence between India and the United States have been further widened by the decision of the American Government to give military aid to Pakistan. Nothing in recent years has done so much as this to strain relations between India and the U.S.A. In addition to being another instance of the American policy of safeguarding peace by military alliances, this particular alliance had repercussions on the internal policies of the Indian subcontinent. It modified the balance of power between India and Pakistan and gave an advantage to Pakistan in the discussion of questions which divided India and Pakistan, particularly the problem of Kashmir. Undoubtedly the intention of the American Government was not to strengthen Pakistan against India, nor would it countenance the use against India of the military aid thus given. But the spokesmen of Pakistan made no secret of their feeling that the aid strengthened their bargaining position in their dealings with India. Indians generally did not believe that America would be able to control Pakistan to the extent of preventing all use

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against India of the aid given. Dr. Syngman Rhee had shown to Pakistan how even the one at the receiving end of the bargain could act independently, and cause serious embarrassment to America. The opposition in India was unanimous. All shades of public opinion were agreed in condemning the American move—the Congress Party representing the Government, the Hindu Right Wing and the Communist Left Wing representing the Opposition. What was undoubtedly a diplomatic victory for the U.S.A. was offset by a serious loss of good will in India.

AN improvement of relations between India and the United States is certainly desirable. There are points of similarity between the two countries and identity of interests on most points which make collaboration between them natural and mutually advantageous. But is it possible under present conditions? I believe that a slight modification of these conditions will bring about an immediate amelioration.

There must of course be an easing of international tension, which will diminish the occasions for the two to be ranged on opposite sides. There must be improvement of relations between Pakistan and India. Both these eventualities may not be so unlikely as some may be inclined to believe. Moreover, it would seem that there is already a shift in the emphases of American foreign policy involving the eclipse of some of the more prominent advocates of toughness. In fact the resolute moderation and wisdom of General Eisenhower in his approach to international problems, his role in preventing crises on several occasions, have increased Indian respect and friendliness for America. This can certainly be augmented by more mutual tolerance in evaluating the policies of each other. But the underlying causes of divergence between the two countries make it clear that under present conditions, and under Pandit Nehru's leadership, there is little chance of India's abandoning her policy of non-alignment. The United States must understand this, and work from there.

MONOLOGUE FOR THE GOOD FRIDAY CHRIST

THE good Friday crowd went
In queues to kiss the crux
Fidelis; soon shall each
Have back to the least
Joy and red cent
What he gave up for Lent.

But christ what do we do
That hate pain and can't
Pray and are not able
Not to sin; that stay
Contrite, until night: did you
Not die for us too?

That will not move to welcome,
Or like the Baptist, leap
And so live; or cannot feed
Upon the quick and lean
Locust, are not at home
With the eyed and austere honeycomb?

Are not the nails sweet
The wood that held thy weight
And what other tree ever put
Such leaf or flower or root
But why am I here in my seat
By my sins and your defeat—

I shall read psalms and wait,
But why can I not kiss
The crucifix my lips
Are dry my tongue sticks
In my jaw oh come great
God as the early and the late

Rains come bind the thorn
From my soul the raged light
Lions from my flesh my sweets
Hold from the dog's hand let
My afflictions be not torn
On the turned spear of the unicorn

God God do not die
This afternoon, we but
Enact: but Christ rise
And before Easter light
In us new fire and spring
The cold, burned root of the old!

Our holy master has died;
We kneel and touch lips to our pride.

JOHN LOGAN.

(*A collection of Mr. Logan's poems, titled* Cycle for Mother Cabrini, *will be published in the fall by Grove Press.*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROM ITALY

The Void In Communism

Rome

ARNOLD Toynbee contends that Communism is a "Christian heresy." Among European Catholics this idea is gaining ground. Communism is seen as an ersatz religion, and the destruction of the Catholic Church in the countries where Communism is in power is reminiscent of the destruction the Church suffered four hundred years ago in the countries where the rulers became Protestant. Only a couple of years ago to have considered Communism a religion would have been dismissed as virtually sacrilegious. Communism was then thought of chiefly as a political tyranny. But many Catholics are coming to change their minds.

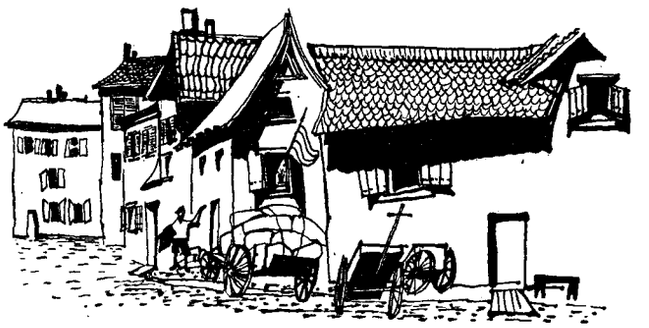
Is it possible that the same relationship will develop between Catholicism and Communism as now exists between Catholicism and Protestantism? Will Italy, for example, at some future time be divided between Catholics and Communists as Germany is now divided between Catholics and Protestants? And will there be the same problems of coexistence between the two creeds—mixed marriages, for instance, or a school question? Will the Italian constitution, which presumes that Italy is—at least in principle—all-Catholic, have to be changed?

This kind of speculation is not defeatism. The wars of religion which followed the Reformation did not solve the religion problem; they only made matters worse. If war breaks out between East and West—and Communism is a religion, a strange modern ersatz religion—the situation which the survivors will face will be much the same as after the wars of religion: coexistence, somehow. And if no war breaks out, coexistence is again the alternative. Experience shows that where Communism once gains ground it remains with extraordinary tenacity. If it is true that social injustice favors Communism and causes it to grow, the radical improvement of living standards only stops its growth; it does not sweep it away. That much is proved by the example of the Scandinavian countries: in spite of the highest living standard in the world, they continue to have a small but constant number of Communists. If the social injustices in Italy were abolished overnight, the growth of Communism would probably be arrested; but the greatest Communist party in the West would remain to be dealt with.

This idea that Communism is a religion has, however, been strongly criticized by people who are in a position to know what they are talking about: refugees from the Communist countries, many of them priests, members of the great orders, who have witnessed the scientific destruction of the Church in their homelands as well as Communism's present policies in such countries as Italy. They admit that Communism has many similarities to religion, and they usually are impressed by the idealism and spirit of sacrifice which an atheistic and materialistic creed like Communism is able to inspire. But their main argument against the thesis is the simple fact that religion *has* managed to survive within the oldest of the Communist countries, the Soviet Union.

Orthodox, Moslem and Jewish groups are allowed a minimum of freedom in Russia. However degenerated, debased or reduced to mere propaganda instruments of the regime these groups may be, they nonetheless are religious bodies which have survived the most insidious persecutions any religious organizations in the world have ever experienced. However miserable, they are there as a testimony. What they testify to is that Communism is not a religion, for if it were it would have replaced them completely. Protestantism completely replaced Catholicism in those places where Protestantism was politically dominant, for Protestantism, like Catholicism, is a religion. It can fill the space in the human heart reserved for religion. Communism has proved unable to fill that space, and the human heart cannot be forever empty.

Why has Communism proved unable to fill the space in the human heart? It has a dialectical handicap: it does not recognize the spiritual dimension of man. The Communists, who proclaim themselves scientific, have the unscientific flaw of ignoring a part of reality. All things which do not suit their rational and mathematical pattern simply do not exist. It is as if someone in a study of physics should deliberately ignore the third dimension. Or as it has been expressed in one of the best studies of Communism published since the war, a work comparable to those of Koestler and Orwell, Czeslaw Milosz' *The Captive Mind,* "what is not expressed does not exist." This strange taboo does not include religion alone; it indiscriminately



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

embraces all of those things which attempt to deal with the inner needs and longing of man: from psychoanalysis to spiritualism and fortune-telling.

"But what can the doctrine do about the unformulated longings of men?" asks Milosz. "Why does a good Communist, without any apparent reason, suddenly put a pistol to his head? Why does he escape abroad? . . . Mysterious, indeed, is the instinct which makes man revolt against a reasonable explanation of all phenomena. . . . When imminent death brings that moment of absurd revelation that *everything is senseless*, dialectical materialism suddenly discloses its mathematical structure. Man falls from the industriously built bridges. He surrenders to the magic of icons."

The only concession made in the Communist countries to these mysterious needs is the freedom to hear good music; but music is not enough, however great it is. One must see this phenomenon really to grasp what this little loophole, this escape, means to listeners under Communist rule—how passionately they enjoy a concert, how utterly lost they become to all that surrounds them. It is pathetic to see; their attitude while listening to music gives, more than any other single thing, an idea of the pressure under which they live.

THEN there is a final objection to the idea of Communism as a religion. Communism teaches that "circumstances alter men" and that there is no constant called human nature. This is consistently maintained by the Communists in all fields of science and philosophy. Indeed it is the very essence of Communist teaching and attracts the young and untutored by its very boldness, for it implies the creation of a new kind of human being, the transformation of the world. Pavlov's famous theory of conditioned reflexes, Lysenko's claim that environment determines heredity, the "official" Communist educator Makarenko's contention that education determines human personality—all point in the same direction. And the new humanity growing up in the Communist world would almost seem a tragic vindication of the theory, a new kind of human being, *Homo sovieticus*.

This is at the very antipodes of the Christian conviction that there is a fundamental thing, a constant, called human nature, and that there is such a thing as the natural law. A Jesuit from one of the Communist countries, now escaped to the West, managed to live as a medical student for several years in his native land. He hid his real identity, of course, and like other students attended the compulsory courses of indoctrination in Marxist-Leninism. Sometimes he would question his professors with the intention of studying their makeup. On one occasion the Jesuit put questions in a way that brought the discussion onto why human nature is so stubbornly faithful to itself, and why there seem to be certain inherent laws of human behavior. The teacher became increasingly embarrassed, and finally stopped, saying: "But comrade, you are entering into metaphysics; and metaphysics do not exist."

COMMUNISM sees in the Catholic Church only its exterior organization; it thinks that the Church's strength resides in organization. Therefore it destroys the organization, reduces it to rubble, and is surprised that the Church continues to live—live with a burning spirit. And at each new sign of life, more of the poor remnants of the Church's organization in the Communist countries is blown to pieces in official rage. But the supernatural side of the Church is not attacked, cannot be reached, for the Communists refuse to recognize that it exists.

This ordeal, which takes place in an atmosphere which we in the West cannot imagine, leaves no one indifferent or neutral, according to the Jesuit and the others who have the same experience. Communism explains in its own way the mysteries of life, of matter, of the universe, of the history of humanity, and it ruthlessly imposes its views. Everybody must take a position. No one can remain in the twilight and say: I don't care, or I don't know. Everybody has either to conform and explain his decision to himself, or rebel and explain that to himself. The brutal Communist negation of the spirit has the effect of plowing up the consciences of the people. The havoc is tremendous. But it is not impossible that the conditions for the sowing have improved, the sowing of the mysterious seed.

GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN.

AN APPEAL

Father E. Hillman, C.S.Sp., Catholic Missions, Arusha, Tanganyika, East Africa, reports that by the end of March he will have exhausted all his funds. He appeals for immediate help in feeding and clothing seventy-five young boys of the Masai tribe and for the wages of seventeen catechists who are working among five different tribes who live in the area of 26,000 square miles comprising his mission. (Airmail: 25¢)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I'VE GOT A LITTLE LIST"

IN those days it came to pass that the U.S. and the USSR were again united against a common enemy, as they had been during the second of the two great wars. At first it seemed incredible that there could ever be such a reconciliation. But a great leader in the West had said that he would make a pact with the Devil himself against this new Threat. The leaders in Moscow became suddenly conciliatory and unbent, in the face of the danger confronting both powers, and open wounds were soon healed.

The change came with speed uncommon even for the age of dramatically sudden political shifts. Again the "accomplishments" of the Soviet experiment were discussed openly in New York bars. Certain unpleasant things about the Soviet were, it was generally felt, better left unsaid. Leaders of the two nations met frequently and openly. In Moscow they drank numerous toasts to the new understanding they had reached, and in Washington at a hundred cocktail parties mutual appreciation flowed as freely as the gin and vermouth.

The big picture magazines spoke as warmly of the "friendly competition" between the two "systems" as they had a generation earlier when the alliance against Hitler was forged. A new, updated version of "Mission to Moscow" was made in Hollywood. A bruised but unbowed Soviet-American Friendship Society was resurrected from the ashes of what was now jocosely called "the late unpleasantness." It was as if the later nineteen-forties and fifties had never been.

A man who had lived for thirty years, in those days, had seen many changes. Yesterday's enemies were today's friends; today's friends were yesterday's enemies. It happened again and again. "That," the more cynical said, "is politics for you." "The important thing," others said, "is the enemy we face today." "I would make a pact with the Devil himself," the great leader said again. But it is of the nature of such pacts that once they are made and while they last, deviltry is not ascribed to the diabolic force. So that was the last heard of the Devil and his works.

When the alliance was solidified, a new patriotic orthodoxy appeared. All the winds that had blown so mightily during the period of the "late unpleasantness" were remembered. To have been an anti-Communist, in those days, was now deemed vaguely unpatriotic and by a strange juxtapositing of time, constituted a threat to the careful alliance which had been forged to fight this new Threat. The word used to describe the "late unpleasantness" was McCarthyism; "anti-Communism" was avoided out of deference to the feelings of an ally. In time few men openly described themselves as anti-Communist. Now, in the new times, the word took on the odor of disloyalty and connoted disapproval of the present alliance, hence support of the new Threat. So cautious men at first, and then even careless men, learned to avoid the word. McCarthyism was now the devil-term, though the Senator from Wisconsin first associated with its use was largely a forgotten figure.

Anti-McCarthyism appeared on all sides. Some boasted that they were anti-McCarthy as far back as when the man himself dominated headlines. In certain cases this was even true. A small group of experts—some of them repentant former members of the For America group—claimed to excel all others in their knowledge of how McCarthyism worked. They were generally known as "sophisticated anti-McCarthyites," to distinguish them from run-of-the-mill unsophisticated anti-McCarthyites, persons who had remained aloof from the fray during the hectic battles of the fifties.

Another group of conscientious citizens insisted that they too opposed McCarthyism and always had but pleaded that the atmosphere of the fifties be recalled. They asked everyone to remember that the evil of McCarthyism was not so clear-cut in those distant days. A well-meaning person, especially a young person, might easily have been lured into signing a McCarthy petition, they argued. Such people should not be judged too harshly. At that time, they said somewhat timorously, everyone was opposed to Russia, which looked like the enemy, and who is to deny that one might easily have felt that in supporting McCarthy he was hurting the Soviet Union and helping the U.S.?

But though these appeals were made and some even listened to them, the leaders of the anti-McCarthyism movement were not touched. They questioned how sincerely the appeals were made; they branded the appealers as anti-anti-McCarthyites. Such persons, one of their leaders said, are not necessarily McCarthyites themselves or even McCarthyite-sympathizers but they are certainly soft on McCarthyism and should be kept out of spheres of public influence.

It was an ex-McCarthyite named Wosutam who remembered that in the middle fifties there was at one point in a bitter controversy a great upsurging of support for Senator McCarthy. Millions of persons had signed a petition for him. Somewhere all those names were on file. Added to the names culled from old copies of the Brooklyn *Tablet*, *The Freeman*, the *American Mercury*, and a few other sources, this list provided an enormous tool for tracking down the erstwhile supporters of McCarthyism. Thus it was that in those days the great purge of McCarthyites was carried out so efficiently and thoroughly.

By the time, years later, that the U.S. and the USSR returned again to the bellicose state that had existed before the great alliance was made, there was hardly a McCarthyite left to lead the new, wiser anti-Communist movement and begin assembling the new lists that so many were demanding in order to determine once and for all who had led the U.S. into a second ill-fated alliance with the USSR.

JOHN COGLEY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE STAGE

BUS STOP

A VAUDEVILLE of personality, picturesque and vivid: thus might one suggest the flavor and quality of Mr. William Inge's new play. For in this bleached and seedy café, poised carelessly on a wasteland of snowbound prairies, an American *Symposium* is mounted; it is the nature of love with which Mr. Inge is concerned. The light of his sensibility flickers with active indolence over the theme, catching its many faces of truth; the director, Harold Clurman—with his special talent for modulation—faultlessly places each of these small private epiphanies in a seamless texture of dramatic experience. Everything is common about the raw matter of "Bus Stop" but the taste and feeling with which it has been elevated to human worth. How delicately drawn, indeed—and played with such rightness and exactitude by Phyllis Love—is the young girl, burgeoning uneasily into love; how subtly, too, does Mr. Inge convey the initial stirrings into dignity of his two major characters: the lumpish, not-yet-housebroken cowboy, all bullying rush and bravado, and his soundlessly vapid victim, this night-club hostess with her scrappy and pathetic tags of gentility. The subject could not (in the human sense) be less promising, yet out of such shapeless moral anarchy—only the comic face of which is kept in the foreground—Mr. Inge and Mr. Clurman have extracted the truth of the grotesque, modest and vague, but within its small and limited world, legitimate. And the production bodies forth this accomplishment: with their superbly developed realistic techniques, Kim Stanley and Albert Salmi bring wit and wry tenderness and an interior veracity to these two central roles; indeed, the ensemble performance is a superior illustration of the power and ease with which American players inhabit the theater of realistic conventions. It is superfluous, of course, to note that however gratifying and congenial, this is but one of the major modes of dramatic experience.

Pleasure, then, I have recorded; permit me now a reservation. In a notice of Mr. Inge's earlier "Picnic," I observed that his was a talent in which sensibility exceeded the dispositions of the intellect—that is, one in which the power to order and clarify experience was as yet inadequate to the imaginative apprehension of it. Now "Bus Stop" would seem to suggest that Mr. Inge has sought to dissolve the impasse by developing a vein of domestic comedy, a genre for which he has most considerable gifts. One may commend the resolution of the problem, yet there has been a concomitant loss: what I miss in "Bus Stop" is that numinous sense of personality, a bleakly exquisite poetry of solitude which fleetingly brushes the grey actualities of "Picnic" and "Come Back, Little Sheba." The *imaging* here is as secure and lucid as in the earlier plays, but there is, behind it, a diminished pressure of intellectual and emotional energy. Mr. Inge is thus limited in his attempt to deal increasingly with serious experience; to its evaluation, he can bring only standards which, however humane, are ultimately provincial. (Would not, for example, a more penetrating mind have reached to the truth of the essential *disastrousness* of love in America?) Again: a haze of sentimentality obscures those characters which, as it were, sustain the moral weight of the play: the complaisant mistress of the café (a good performance by Elaine Stritch, though excessively mannered), and the alcoholic middle-aged intellectual. Anthony Ross' brilliant control of the latter role mutes its slushy banalities, but surely there is something disturbing, symptomatic and how typically American, in the fact that the Socrates of this particular *agape* should be a boozy professor of literature, whose irregular amorous interests have more than occasionally invited the serious attention of the local instruments of law? (*At the Music Box.*)

RICHARD HAYES.

THE SCREEN

BIOGRAPHY

CATHERINE Marshall's glowing biography of her husband, who was famous for his sermons as a Presbyterian minister and for his pithy prayers as chaplain of the U.S. Senate, became a successful best-seller. And now the equally glowing film, "A Man Called Peter," is likely to be successful at the box office. Peter Marshall was a vital sort of man who firmly believed that God wanted him to emigrate from Scotland (where he hadn't been too hot at school) and go to the United States to become a minister. Peter's trials and happiness as a minister, a husband and a father comprise the main material of this warm and human movie—they, along with many of his sermons.

As a movie, "A Man Called Peter" has its faults. In spite of the good script written by Eleanore Griffin from Mrs. Marshall's book and the extraordinarily beautiful photography in CinemaScope and De Luxe Color, the picture lacks a sense of time. Too few dates are given and too often I wondered *when* something was happening as events move on through the years. Even the clothes and decorations are not too indicative. Then suddenly it is December 7, 1941, on the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

morning of which Dr. Marshall, as if by inspiration, gives his sermon on death to the young men at Annapolis. Perhaps the film's time clues were in its short transition scenes which were ruthlessly cut when it became obvious that the movie was too long. Credit must go to Henry Koster, however, for his excellent direction of the large cast, especially Jean Peters (as Catherine who narrates much of the story and gets great feeling into the somewhat thankless role of the wife of a great man) and Richard Todd (whose portrayal of Peter Marshall is practically flawless). Todd plays this minister, who believed that Christianity can be fun and fun can be Christian, with a virile sensitivity. His fine voice and strong Scottish accent lend authority to his portrait of Peter the man and Peter the unconventional minister.

I'M not sure that Peter Marshall would have approved entirely of Robert Wilson's portrayal of Christ in "Day of Triumph"—not that Wilson makes Our Lord a pale namby-pamby, but neither does he make Him the red-blooded he-man Marshall insisted He was. I am sure, however, that Marshall would have welcomed this film which was handsomely produced in Eastman Color by a fellow minister (Dr. James K. Friedrich of the Episcopal Church) and which tells the story of the last years of Christ's life within the framework of a partly fictional plot about the "Zealots," a patriotic group in Judea who were trying to get rid of Roman rule. The Zealot leader (Lee J. Cobb) is looking for a man who can inspire the people, and Judas (effectively played by James Griffith) tells him about Jesus of Nazareth Whose teachings have won many followers. Judas is certain that Christ can be drawn to their cause and that He is an ideal choice to be the new King of the Jews.

The script for "Day of Triumph," written by Arthur T. Horman, includes many scenes from the Scriptures. Though some of these are a little awkward and unprofessional in style, most of them have been movingly directed by Irving Pichel. Any portrayal of Christ on stage or screen is a difficult job, and Robert Wilson is to be commended for his simplicity and great sincerity in the role. Sincerity dominates the picture, and if you are not disturbed by the over-all plot that says Judas' motive in having Jesus arrested was to foment a revolution, you may find this film, the first full-length feature about Christ since "King of Kings," quite interesting.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Coming Soon
Special CLAUDEL Issue
of The Commonweal

OF NOTE

CAN WE DEFEND OURSELVES?

THE March 18 issue of *The Indiana Catholic and Record,* the Indianapolis diocesan paper (219 East St. Joseph Street, Indianapolis 6, Indiana) carries an editorial which comments on Father F. H. Drinkwater's article, "The Morality of Nuclear War," recently published in The Commonweal. The newspaper emphasizes that its editorial "makes no pretense of being anything other than an attempt by the editors to promote discussion of the grimmest moral problem of our time, or any time: what must we do, and what are we forbidden to do to defend ourselves in an age of nuclear warfare?" The editorial is here reprinted in full:

The biggest question in moral theology today is one which theological greats of the past never had to wrestle with—the morality of atomic and thermonuclear warfare. While the general principles governing the conduct of a just war are still as true and binding as ever, the thermonuclear weapons add almost a new dimension to war, and the application of principles is by no means clear and easy.

It is not surprising that viewpoints should differ even among Catholic theologians concerning the morality or immorality of the A-bomb and H-bomb. Is it wrong to make them? To use them? When, where and under what conditions may they be employed?

Neither the Russian government nor the Western powers are likely to put a theological commission to work finding the answers to these questions. As to the morality of any policy, the Communists couldn't care less. The Western world is not quite that bad. It would prefer to be right, but one has the uneasy suspicion that in the showdown whatever seemed practical would be adopted as policy, whether it could be justified before God or not.

Actually the most practical policy is certainly to remain on God's side, come what may. To align oneself against Almighty God is the wildest kind of folly as well as wickedness. This is basic to Christian thinking on the morality of anything. All theologians would agree on that.

But this doesn't touch the heart of the problem with which the Christian conscience in the West is faced. The problem is to determine how the West can defend itself against Communism effectively without offending against God's law.

The present policy of the West, plainly, is to rely on the deterrent effect of the A-bomb and H-bomb. It is being made inescapably clear to Russian leaders that an H-bomb or A-bomb attack on the West by the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Regular Features

The Commonweal is now presenting an even wider variety of comment and insight on current questions, week by week. Regular features include:

EDITORIALS OF THE WEEK
ARTICLES BY LEADING WRITERS
DISPATCHES FROM OVERSEAS
JOHN COGLEY'S WEEKLY COLUMN
THE STAGE
THE SCREEN
JOHN C. CORT ON LABOR
LETTERS FROM OUR READERS
"OF NOTE"
LITERARY ARTICLES
REVIEWS OF CURRENT BOOKS

A trial subscription will enable you to see for yourself the character and pertinence embodied in these features week after week.

TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION
15 ISSUES FOR $2
FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS ONLY

THE COMMONWEAL, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Enclosed is $2. Send The Commonweal for the next 15 weeks to:

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

4/8/55

Russians would result in immediate and overwhelming response by the West.

Russia has been surrounded by bases at all points on the compass from which atomic devastation could be launched within a few hours after she struck. For the present, at least, Russia is faced with the fact that, whatever damage she might inflict with an initial surprise blow, she could not possibly prevent her own soil from being far more grievously damaged. This fact, the Western leaders believe, is our best guarantee for at least cold peace enduring for a while. We will not strike, and Russia cannot afford to strike.

Father Drinkwater totally rejects the Western strategy as immoral. He even goes so far as to advise scientists, factory workers and civil servants to quit their jobs rather than directly cooperate in producing weapons of mass destruction. The West, he says, "ought to keep ourselves armed with ordinary weapons and fight, if need be to the last ditch (with ordinary weapons) to resist aggression. But we ought also to renounce totally and unilaterally if necessary all undiscriminating mass destruction and all weapons which presuppose it."

We find it hard to agree with Father Drinkwater's solution. Quite apart from the fact that such a course as discarding atomic weapons would not get a second thought from the leaders of the Western world, we find substantial objections to Father Drinkwater's approach to the whole situation. To imply, as he does, that the West is at present committed to undiscriminating mass destruction is unfair. Any explosive powerful enough to kill more than a few people at once is a weapon of mass destruction. The term "indiscriminate" applied to a weapon can only mean "uncontrolled" or "uncontrollable." No weapon discriminates among its victims. It wreaks its havoc to the limit of its powers. If there is no limit—or no predictable limit to its power, then one truly has an indiscriminating weapon of mass destruction.

This, it seems to us, is what the Holy Father was referring to in his discussion of ABC (atomic, bacteriological and chemical) warfare: "When this kind of warfare escapes completely from human control, its use must be rejected as immoral. In this case it would no longer be a matter of defense against injustice, or of the necessary safeguarding of legitimate possessions, and would become a matter of the annihilation pure and simple of all human life within the range of action. This would not be permitted for any reason whatever."

It is easy to see from this statement of the Holy Father that releasing, for example, uncontrollable germ warfare, which could not be limited or stopped, would never be permissible. Similarly a poisoning of the atmosphere would be utterly immoral. If the H-bomb would do that, it may not be used. Some have speculated that this is a possible result of an H-bomb war.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But in the present state of public knowledge it is not possible to say that the H-bomb has no limits to its power, or that it is absolutely uncontrollable. Its scope is awesome in the extreme. It staggers the imagination of the layman, but scientists describing its terrors have determined with increasing certainty its limits.

It is not the intention of the West ever to use an H-bomb anywhere. H-bombs and A-bombs have a value in the present situation without ever being exploded. They have, we hold, a power to keep the cold peace from turning into hot war.

If against all reason and morality, Russia started an atomic war, a limited number of our atomic and thermonuclear weapons might conceivably destroy Russia's war potential quickly and end the war. Certainly not one unnecessary bomb could be dropped. Not one non-essential target could be chosen. Nor could any bomb be used whose probable limits of destruction were unknown or which exceeded the force needed for the task. Perhaps other limitations would be necessary to avoid transgressing morality. If so, we would have to scrupulously observe them, whatever the Russians were doing to us. There could be no wild vengeful retaliation. But the real justification of the present Western policy lies not in the presumption of careful use of terrible weapons, but in the fact that we never intend to use them at all.

We don't intend to be attacked. And if we are not attacked these weapons will never be used.

For the West alone to renounce nuclear warfare and thus deprive itself of the only effective barrier to Communist conquest of the whole world, strikes us as an act of collective political suicide that in no wise could be morally justified.

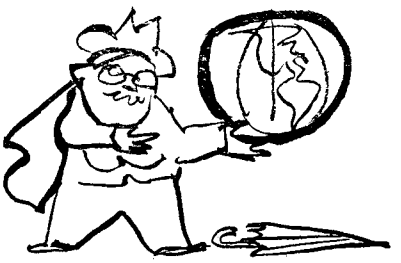
COMMUNICATIONS

"CARDINAL MANNING"

Portsmouth, R. I.

TO the Editors: I hope it is not too late for me to comment on some of the points about my review of Shane Leslie's *Cardinal Manning* raised by Mr. Emmet Lavery in your issue of February 11.

That moment, it seems to me, can properly be called "unguarded" in which the Cardinal, whether or not by his own fault, is left without the protection of friends who could see to his own best interests, even though he himself was not aware at the time of what protection they were in a position to offer him. Indeed, the word seems to fit perfectly what Mr. Lavery has heard of the circumstances—although my use of it was based on Sir Shane's account in the Preface to his unabridged *Life*, which differs from the story of Mr.



NEW WORLD CHESTERTON

Under this name we are reissuing the best of Chesterton's out-of-print books. The first two are ready:

THE FLYING INN

This novel about an Irishman and an inn-keeper who defeated an attempt to turn England Mohammedan, seems (like the rum which plays so large a part in it) to be all the better for being forty years old. Anyone who remembers the story, and the songs scattered through it, will greet this reprint with delight. For people about to read it for the first time we feel the deepest envy. $3.50

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

When this first appeared Sir Edmund Gosse wrote: "It is and always since his death has been impossible for me to write anything which went below the surface of R. L. S. I loved him, and still love him, too tenderly to analyse him. But you, who have the privilege of not being dazzled by having known him, have taken the task into your strong competent hands. You could not have done it better." $2.50

Two more Chesterton reprints will be ready in the Fall.

• • •

NEGLECTED SAINTS

by E. I. Watkin

Widen your acquaintance in heaven—it will be nice to find plenty of people you know when you arrive there! At least five of the names in this book were new to us and we need hardly say, well worth meeting. $3.50

Order from any bookstore

For more about these books, reviews and news of books to come, see Sheed & Ward's OWN TRUMPET. The Trumpet comes free and postpaid: write to Lucy MacGill. All the address you need is—

SHEED & WARD **New York 3**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lavery's informant in a number of particulars. That Purcell's biography is not altogether reliable in presenting a fair picture of Manning may reasonably be deduced from the Preface just mentioned as well as from Wilfrid Ward's letters to Purcell printed in Appendix A of Maisie Ward's *The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition* (1934).

I agree that our disapproval of Lytton Strachey's personality may account for some of our dismay at his opinions. But is this really relevant? It cannot be denied that in including Cardinal Manning in his roster of eminent Victorians he tailored the Cardinal's personality and character to fit his own thesis—often in the face of the facts—and that the Cardinal is a definite loser from the process. A writer who by his own repeated avowals bases his case on nothing but recorded fact cannot introduce words into the mouths of Newman and Pius IX for which there is no evidence in the same way that Mr. Lavery himself, in his brilliant play "Second Spring," can write a whole scene based on imaginary conversation of Manning and Leo XIII.

It seems to me that all men not of the highest greatness are victims of their biographers. Only someone having the stature of, say, Abraham Lincoln, can rise above the pettifogging researchers of innumerable detractors and emerge in the end at once supremely great and supremely human. Most men of only moderate eminence escape the bad luck of having two such chroniclers as Purcell and Strachey and are decently embalmed in "official" two-volume "Lives"—a favorable specimen of which Vaughan, no doubt, would have provided.

(*Dom*) ALBAN BAER, O.S.B.

THE LITURGY

Sunnyside, Wash.

TO the Editors: Do I interpret Lucille Sisson's letter in your March 11 issue correctly, if I read her "way of life that has furnished substance to our history" as a claim that Liturgy is substantially (apart from the raw bones of sacramental form and matter) a product of the land? If I am correct in this assumption I would like to caution her. Our missal is as city-bred as Virgil's Georgics and my European background may entitle me to say that the peasants are not the ones that have the deepest appreciation of liturgy, but rather of secondary "liturgy"—like blessings of fields, animals, weather prayers and other "addenda" on the substance of the liturgy. Ambrose's and Gregory's contributions were city products; the psalms come from an agricultural society, but the ones who used them as raw material for liturgy were not peasants. (*Rev.*) H. A. REINHOLD.

HUNDREDS OF KITS ARE NEEDED . . .

by the missionaries, to relieve the sufferings of their people. One of these Kits, carefully designed for the most effective use, can be sent for a gift of $30. Many of the readers of The Commonweal have already accepted this opportunity. Will you not generously join that number? Send your gift to Rev. Edward F. Garesche, S.J., President, Catholic Medical Mission Board, Inc., 10 West 17th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

LEWIS COLLEGE
Of SCIENCE and TECHNOLOGY
Lockport, Illinois
CO-EDUCATIONAL

A Catholic college administered and staffed by Catholic laymen. CYO affiliated. State and University accredited. Majors offered in Liberal Arts, Natural Sciences, Business Administration, Social Sciences, Industrial Arts, Engineering. B.A., B.S. degrees. One and two year courses in Flight, including Helicopter, Aviation Operations, Maintenance. 35 miles from Chicago.

Coming Special Issues
of The Commonweal

Next Week
EDUCATION

May 13
SPRING BOOKS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Love and Violence: A Parable of Our Times

FAITHFUL ARE THE WOUNDS. By May Sarton. Rinehart. $3.

By FRANK GETLEIN

IN her new novel, May Sarton moves from the world of purely personal relationships, brought to glowing life and examined in minute detail, to one of the most violently burning public questions of our day, democratic dissent in a time of national crisis. Yet the change is much less that the statement implies.

The complete line from which her title comes is "Faithful are the wounds of a friend," and that personal last word is most relevant to the new book, as, indeed, the entire line, to some degree, applies to much of her previous work. Her last novel, *A Shower of Summer Days*, was set in a social world which has all but vanished, the Anglo-Irish establishment in Ireland. To people it, she called back the scattered: the man and wife, Charles and Violet, from the end of Britain in Burma, their niece, Sally, from the Irish drift to the new world. She created, fully and beautifully, that fading world and let us watch its effects upon her people. They tumbled, all of them, in what Miss Sarton called the kaleidoscope of feeling, and the book was a joy to read.

The new novel is a joy, too, finally, though its tone is often somber, though it opens with an act of violence which is frequently echoed as the story runs its swift, deep course to a conclusion inevitable and, out of defeat, victorious. Once again, the kaleidoscope of feeling is turning throughout and once again the reader feels himself constantly in the presence of a master of English fiction. There is a maturity here, a command, command of the language first of all, and of the situation, the character, the change and growth, that make one terribly impatient with much that the American novel is now bringing forth.

The hero—and the old fashioned word can legitimately be used with all its classical nuances—is Edward Cavan, a professor of literature at Harvard and a "Christian Socialist" deeply involved in the liberal struggle of the last two decades, although rejecting the word "liberal" itself as mealy-mouthed and question-begging. The novel opens with the report of his suicide received by his sister, a comfortable bourgeois long estranged, for the practical purposes of real communication, from her brilliant brother. She journeys across the country to Harvard, to see his world, to perform the duties of piety and to strive one last time for an answer to the question that has never left her mind, "Edward, where are you?"

The first half of the book reviews the last week of Edward Cavan's life, and the handful of encounters that brought him, presumably, beneath the wheels of the electric train that ended his life, an intensely symbolic chosen means, the symbolism of which Miss Sarton never mentions, so perfect is her restraint.

He meets a student, a couple of fellow-faculty members, the head of his department, the aged daughter of a former dean. All are his close associates; most are his friends. Yet he cannot break through. Personal communication has almost ceased for him, he is so preoccupied with the public question. This concern with "breaking through"—surely one of the fundamental processes of human life—is characteristic of Miss Sarton and never has she portrayed its necessity so vividly.

The second half takes up the arrival of the questing sister at Harvard, shows us the effects of Edward Cavan's last desperate attempt to demand sympathetic attention from his friends, and deals with the sister's own attempts to 'break through," a process which costs her much and which she finally abandons with a tragic lightness like that of the fox beneath the grapes.

The secular-sacred atmosphere of true learning is as skillfully evoked as was the crumbling castle of the Anglo-Irish in *A Shower of Summer Days*. Against this background Cavan emerges as the finest spokesman for its highest values, despite the fact that we are never brought inside Cavan as we are with everyone else. We see him in one perspective after another as the kaleidoscope turns. In the earlier chapters he appears almost paranoiac; it is only after his death and especially in the epilogue, five years later, that the measure of the man is clearly revealed. In the epilogue appears an incidental value of the novel, a sketch of Senator McCarthy in action that catches the likeness far better than most political attempts. Miss Sarton succeeds so well in this little vignette because there, as in her full spiritual portraits, she is interested above all in a person.

From Marxism to Free Enterprise

REFLECTIONS ON THE FAILURE OF SOCIALISM. By Max Eastman. Devin-Adair. $2.75.

By ROBERT LUDLOW

AT the beginning of his new book Max Eastman says "I stated the aim of my political activities in two articles in the *Masses* in 1916: not to reform men, or even primarily reform the world, but to 'Make all men as free to live and realize the world as it is possible for them to be.' In this the years have brought no change." There is, of course, no reason why Mr. Eastman should have changed his philosophy in this regard because laissez-faire capitalism (which he now champions) and Marxian socialism (which he used to champion) are quite in agreement in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their Rousseauistic conception of human nature and their contention that if only certain factors are absent or present, if only the environment be this or that, if only the correct economic system be installed, man will automatically achieve happiness and plenty, and justice will finally prevail. The only difference with Mr. Eastman now is that, for the Marxian myth, he has returned to that earlier myth of the Manchester school, the myth of the free market, of natural and inevitable economic laws—the myth of capitalism as the goose that lays the golden eggs.

It would seem that Max Eastman has a compulsion to embrace impractical and unworkable solutions. Despite his protestations, the fact is that his approach to economics is mathematical, scientistic, unreal. Unreal because, like the individualistic anarchism which he terms childish, he fails to face man as man is; scientistic because of his continued dogmatic belief in myths; mathematical because he advocates the "impersonal mechanism of the market." In his reaction to Marxism he has been made blind to the fact that the free market has always been defeated by non-economic elements which persistently interfere with its smooth-running mechanism.

Nor is Mr. Eastman particularly lucid in this book. "The principle of collective responsibility," he writes, "for those actually in want can be maintained without violating the principle of competition. But we need no longer deceive ourselves that liberty in a human world is compatible with economic equality." Why do we no longer need to deceive ourselves on this? Because there has been an example of a country enjoying economic equality and it did not lead to liberty? This is certainly the implication of Mr. Eastman's statement and, taking it in the light of the book as a whole, it seems to mean that Russia is that country. Which would make Mr. Eastman contend that economic equality exists in Russia. I think he would say that is absurd. But then he should be more careful how he writes and more careful of his conclusions. For if, in reality, we have no example of a country where economic equality exists then we have no basis on which to contend either pro or con as to whether such equality is or is not compatible with liberty.

Not only does Max Eastman return to the myth of the free market and natural economic law but he returns to the myth of Malthus. "More goods and fewer people," he states, "is the slogan I should like to see carried at the head of humanity's march into the future." He gives no new argument to justify the resurrection of this myth; he merely repeats that there are too many people for the goods available and doubts if increased production or new methods of production could ever solve this. He has some complimentary remarks on Hilaire Belloc and would seem to agree with the principles of distributism. But he fails to point out that Belloc attacked both socialism and free market capitalism whereas Mr. Eastman writes "the market economy he [Marx] thundered against has, in its full development, lifted the toiling masses of mankind to levels of life never dreamed of in past history."

There are, of course, sound criticisms of socialism in this book but hardly anything that has not already been said many years ago by the distributists. Mr. Eastman's solution—a return to laissez-faire capitalism — well, the Popes gave an answer to that also quite a few years ago.

A Poetry of Passionate Debate

SELECTED POEMS. By Randall Jarrell. Knopf. $4.

By NICHOLAS JOOST

THE poems in this impressive volume are generally familiar to readers of contemporary poetry. Even the changes made do not transform most of them beyond all recognition, but the later poems—those that bear few marks of having been tinkered with by the poet—are both the more familiar and the better work. Perhaps as Mr. Jarrell has found his manner and themes he has found himself able to write more easily and to shed a compulsion to reconstruct what at one time he considered successful enough to publish. At any rate, one day we shall decide which version of an early Jarrell poem we like better. We may justly apply to such poems the words of Whitman concerning his own much revised *Leaves of Grass*: in the long run the world will do what it pleases with any book. Meanwhile, what of these *Selected Poems?*

They are, forthrightly, poems of peace and war. The poems of peace —pre- and postwar—comprise original pieces and translations and adaptations, such as four adaptations from Tristan Corbière's *Rondels pour après.* As a "creative" poet (the modifier seems awkward, but with apologies I shall let it stand) Mr. Jarrell is along with Robert Lowell one of the two present-day masters—post-Eliot and Pound—of the dramatic monologue.

Robert Browning developed two types of dramatic monologue: the soliloquy and the monologue proper, spoken to someone. As elaborated by Eliot with devices learned from Laforgue and Corbière (Mr. Jarrell elsewhere counts Eliot as a "stray pilgrim" to Corbière's neglected grave), the dramatic monologue has become a dominant technique in twentieth-century poetry. Mr. Jarrell has carried on the tradition and has even added a third manner to those of the soliloquy and the spoken monologue. This is the manner of Henry James in his later novels and tales, what critics describe by the phrase "the point of view." This Jamesian technique is superbly employed in such a Jarrell poem as "The Night before the Night before Christmas." Mostly, though, Jarrell like Robert Lowell adopts the simpler manner of the older monologue, as developed by Browning; the "hero" or mask is a sick child, a rich old moneybags, an ancient Hebrew prophet, as in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

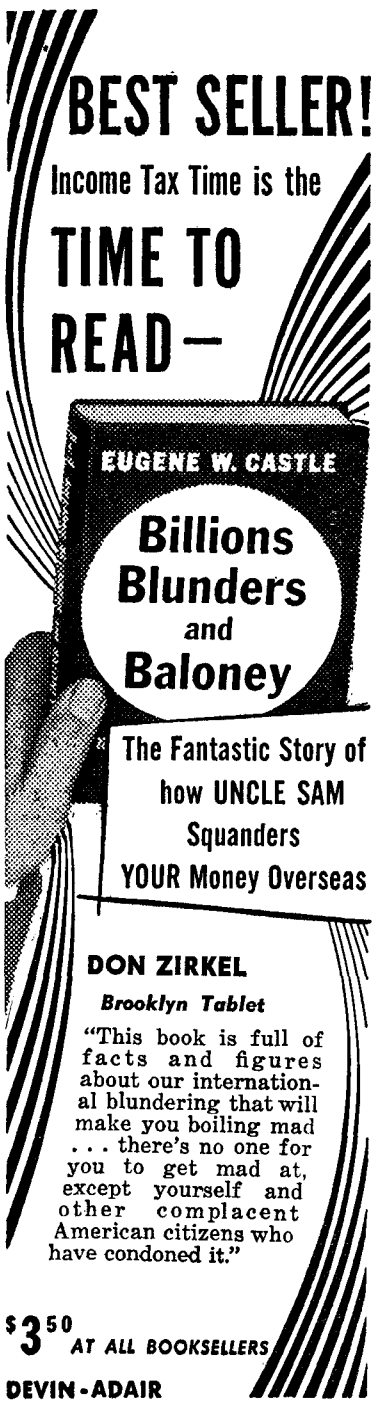
"The Sick Child," "Money," and "Jonah." In "A Girl in a Library" the poet himself speaks an interior monologue.

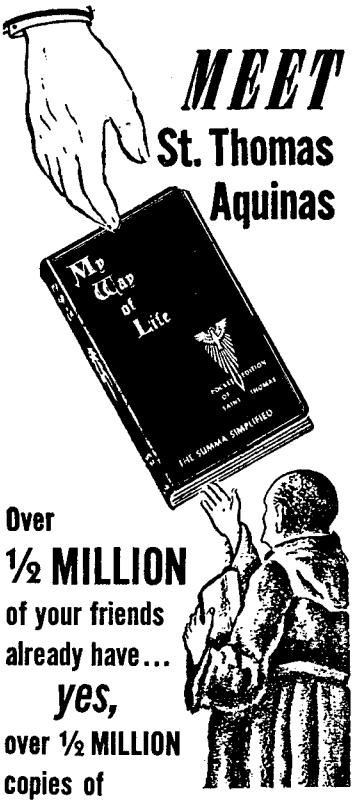
The second main category of Jarrell's poems is the poems of war, not different in manner and voice from the poems of peace, but of course contrasting in subject. Jarrell seems to me to rank with Karl Shapiro as one of our two finest poets of the latest war generation, but Shapiro put his finger on the weakness of Jarrell's poems when he wrote of Jarrell's tendency toward sentimentality and cruelty. Perhaps a good many, even most, readers won't agree, but I find these traits coming to the fore in "The Death of the Ball Turret Gunner" and "The State." And I must confess that I find the "message" of "The Survivor among Graves" simply distasteful as an expression of what I take to be agnosticism. Both the survivors and the war dead say in unison:

. . . say again
That life is—what it is not;
That, somewhere, there is—
something, something;
That we are waiting; that
we are waiting.

On the other hand, "Losses," "Burning the Letters," "Terms," and "The Wide Prospect" are superbly articulated both as artifacts and as emotional and intellectual expression. Incidentally, "Burning the Letters" is reminiscent in manner and voice of Robert Lowell's "To My Brother," but it is, I believe, more intense and less uneven and all in all a better, because more fully realized, poem. About all of Jarrell's war poetry even when most overdrawn, there is a wonderful vividness, as of an exceptionally able war correspondent turned into an exceptionally able poet.

It is easy to quarrel with Jarrell as a poet or a critic or a novelist. He is, let us admit, fond of showing off his odd scraps of esoteric knowledge and confusing these with true erudition—which of course he lacks; he's not a scholar. Occasionally it seems, annoyingly, that he can't write a poem unless he gains his inspiration from some anthropologist's interpretation of a German *Märchen* or a certain Dürer engraving or a particular quilt pattern or Carleton Coon's *The Races of Europe* (a most fascinating book, to be sure). He's too condescending. He really does seem questionably fond of blood and guts to no great purpose, except perhaps to rub our noses in the mess and thereby make us know Life.—But he has his virtues, too. Jarrell is honest with his readers. He doesn't write down to them. If anthropology


BEST SELLER!
Income Tax Time is the
TIME TO READ—
EUGENE W. CASTLE
Billions Blunders and Baloney
The Fantastic Story of how UNCLE SAM Squanders YOUR Money Overseas
DON ZIRKEL
Brooklyn Tablet
"This book is full of facts and figures about our international blundering that will make you boiling mad . . . there's no one for you to get mad at, except yourself and other complacent American citizens who have condoned it."
$3.50 AT ALL BOOKSELLERS
DEVIN-ADAIR



Over
½ MILLION
of your friends
already have...
yes,
over ½ MILLION
copies of
"My WAY of LIFE"
The Summa simplified and in plain-talk
are now in use

Now this great book is in reach of everyone. In popular, plain-talk pocket-sized and priced for ***your pocket.***

You can discover, too, that the Summa simplified makes good subway and bus reading, just as thousands and thousands of your friends have discovered that MY WAY OF LIFE is for their pocket

wherever they are
wherever they go

Beautifully bound in green imitation leather, with gold stamping.

Price is only $1.35

Order your copy from your bookstore or from

THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE PRECIOUS BLOOD
Rt. Rev. Msgr. JOSEPH B. FREY
5300 FT. HAMILTON PARKWAY
BROOKLYN 19, NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inspires him to soar on the viewless wings of Poesy, he doesn't disguise the fact. He lacks almost completely a metaphysical mind, and all his cries about the glory and agony of the human condition can't hide the lack; but he struggles manfully to get somewhere intellectually, and this struggle makes the poetry. It is the poetry that counts—intense, somber, witty, pitying—a poetry of passionate debate.

Meditations

GIFT FROM THE SEA, By Anne Morrow Lindbergh. Pantheon. $2.75.

By JEAN HOLZHAUER

LIKE many of her sisters, Anne Lindbergh has given a good deal of thought recently to the problem of women in the modern world. The problem, she says, is no longer one of Woman and Career, Woman and the Home, Woman and Independence, but one of remaining whole among the increasing distractions of family and community life. Mothers of sizable families count it a rare luxury to breakfast alone with their husbands: how, then, can they find time to be really alone for creative work, thought, or rest?

Gift from the Sea is a series of meditations on this theme, made during a vacation at the beach. In chapters fancifully titled with the names of sea shells ("Double-Sunrise," "Channeled Whelk") the author considers woman's place in marriage, in motherhood, in society, and in her duties to herself.

As a partial answer to some of her questions, Mrs. Lindbergh suggests transferring the simplicity of beach living to our urban or suburban settings. With smaller wardrobes, bare floors, less furniture, a minimum of possessions, she thinks, women could salvage more time to be themselves. Whether a habitual feminine bias in favor of wall-to-wall carpeting and committee work will limit the audience for this argument is a question. Many readers will protest indignantly that interior decoration and interior balance are not mutually exclusive.

As she has long since demonstrated in previous books, however, Anne Lindbergh is a thoughtful, imaginative person who prefers finding her own solutions to accepting ready-made ones. Her newest essays may very well encourage other women to examine their lives for essentials.

China Question

STILL THE RICE GROWS GREEN. By John C. Caldwell. Regnery. $3.75.

By HAROLD C. HINTON

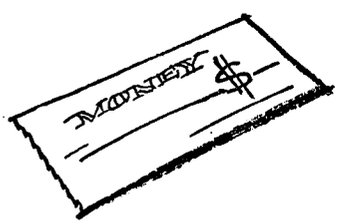
THIS is a glimpse through the eyes of an Old China Hand of conditions and people in Formosa, the offshore islands, and South Korea, accompanied by some recommendations as to what the United States should and should not do to preserve and strengthen freedom in those areas and the rest of Asia.

Since Mr. Caldwell is one of the very few American correspondents who have actually visited the offshore islands recently, his account of them is of the greatest interest. He found their Nationalist defenders full of fight, economically active, and politically progressive, but badly in need of massive American aid if they are to escape being overrun. He pronounces the islands, especially Kinmen (Chin-men, or Quemoy), vital to the defense of freedom in Asia, partly of course for strategic reasons but still more as symbols of freedom and resistance to Communist expansion. He is at a loss to understand why they are not more generally so regarded in the United States and Britain.

Mr. Caldwell's report on Formosa strikes me as excessively favorable, although he is by no means entirely uncritical of the Nationalists. He makes a great deal of land reform on the island, which has undeniably been a major achievement, but neglects to mention the rather important fact that in several respects, such as the campaign to limit rents to 37.5 per cent of the annual crop, the Nationalists are merely at last implementing legislation which has lain unenforced on the statute books since 1930. He refers to the execution by the Kuomintang of the rascally Chen Yi (not to be confused with the very-much-alive Communist general whose name is pronounced and spelled in the same way), who misgoverned the island from 1945 to 1947, but does not add that Chen was executed not because of what he did to the Formosans but because he was suspected of being about to defect to the Communists. He dismisses as a "disgruntled, ousted Chinese politician" the former governor of Formosa, the able and respected K. C. Wu, who fled to the United States in 1953 and has described Nationalist Formosa as essentially a police state. Mr. Caldwell's favorable portrait of Chiang Ching-kuo, the Generalissimo's eldest son and heir presumptive, carries less conviction to me than the rather disturbing view of him presented in Allen Whiting's excellent recent article in *The Saturday Evening Post*.

The hero of the Korean section

fight cancer with a CHECK



and a CHECKUP

give to
AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY ®

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the book is of course Syngman Rhee, and Mr. Caldwell has many things to say about the long and distinguished list of men who have at various times expressed criticism of that arbitrary and controversial old man. A very good case can be made out for Rhee as a Korean patriot, but like most of his defenders Mr. Caldwell tends to lose sight of two things. In the first place, Rhee has a tendency to identify the good of Korea with his own policies and leadership—a Korean version of "What's good for General Motors is good for the country" and, I submit, a dangerous attitude. Secondly, cursed as it is with powerful neighbors on all sides, the Republic of Korea would not even be in existence today, let alone in a position to kick up her heels, if it were not for outside intervention. Other nations—yes, even the United Nations, on whom Mr. Caldwell empties the vials of his wrath—have a right to exercise some restraint on Mr. Rhee, as our allies sometimes do on us, because their necks as well as his are at stake.

As for future policy, Mr. Caldwell feels that by a much firmer policy—including, apparently, military pressure designed to weaken the Chinese Communist regime, which he regards as extremely unpopular with its own subjects—the United States can stem the tide of Communism and bring eventual peace and freedom to Asia. He may be right, and so may the British intelligence officer who is reported to have predicted that in the event of full-scale war between the United States and China, South China would disintegrate within six weeks, but I doubt it. So apparently do many people in other Asian countries—India, Burma, and Indonesia in particular—who criticize us not for too little firmness but for too much, or at least for firmness too often displayed at the wrong time and place. Our statesmen must take account, even if our journalists need not, of views with which they may disagree.

While I deplore Mr. Caldwell's tendency to attribute evil motives to those who do not see things as he does, I found his book honest, sympathetic, and interesting, although sometimes inaccurate and full of strange grammatical lapses. Only rarely has a book called forth as much disagreement from me as does this one. For that reason I like it and recommend it as an interesting book on an explosive topic.

STUDY IN EUROPE

10½ months of study and travel for only $1490

Students live in Vienna, Austria and study at the U. of Vienna. The broad variety of English taught courses now includes: History, Languages, Psychology, Political Science, Literature, Economics, Art, Music and other special courses.

To complement the creditable courses at the University, IES has included special travel programs through Holland, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Morocco and Austria.

Sailing date: September 8, 1955 on the SS Maasdam. Price includes round trip on boat, room and board, tuition at the University and travel expenses.

Application deadline: July 23, 1955.

Write today for free brochure and application forms.

THE INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN STUDIES
7325 South Maryland Avenue
Chicago 19, Illinois

Liturgical
WEDDING INVITATIONS

Invitations with a Christian motif available printed to your order or blank on inside for local printing. Send 50¢ in coin or stamps for sample kit and folder.

ST. BENET SHOP
506 South Wabash Chicago 5, Illinois

REVIEWERS

Frank Getlein is a frequent contributor to The Commonweal and other Catholic magazines.

Robert Ludlow is a former associate editor of the *Catholic Worker*.

Nicholas Joost teaches at Assumption College in Worcester, Mass.

Jean Holzhauer reviews frequently for this magazine.

Harold C. Hinton is a member of the faculty at Georgetown University.

Educational

MARYLAND

College of Notre Dame of Maryland

North Charles St., Baltimore 10, Maryland. A fully accredited Catholic College for Women, conducted by the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Courses leading to B.A. degree, with concentration in Art, Languages, Literature, Sciences, Music, Social Studies, Speech, Mathematics, Philosophy and Theology. Workshops in Creative Writing. Education courses leading to teacher certification. Pre-medical and laboratory technical training. Full Physical Education program, including Swimming. Address the Registrar.

RHODE ISLAND

Portsmouth Priory School

Portsmouth, Rhode Island, 23 miles from Providence, 8 miles from Newport, on inland waters of Narragansett Bay. Conducted by American Monks of the English Benedictine Congregation, assisted by Lay Masters. Five forms, 8th grade and four years of high school. Standard Preparatory Course for all colleges and technical schools. Added opportunities in Mathematics and Languages. College Board Examination. Full facilities for athletics including sailing. Address the Secretary.

Classified

★RATES, payable in advance: 16⅔c a word (6 words, $1). Centered lines $1 each. 12 words or 2 lines minimum. Discounts: 5% for 3 times, 10% for 7 times, 15% for 13 times.

IRISH BOOKS AND GIFTS

★ Books, Linens, Gifts, *Catalogs.*
IRISH INDUSTRIES DEPOT, INC.
870 Lexington Ave. (near 65th), New York

CHESTERTON AND BELLOC

★Chesterton and Belloc Books
200 titles. Free Catalogue.
Andrew Prosser, 3118 N. Keating Ave.
Chicago 41, Illinois

BOOKS

★BOOKS, GOVERNMENT SURPLUS—Bargain prices. Free catalog listing 50 other free catalogs. Instructional, vocational, educational subjects. Millions of volumes, new and used. Books bought. Est. 1902. LONG'S COLLEGE BOOK CO., Dept. C, Columbus 1, Ohio.

PRINTED LABELS

★ 500 Gummed Labels, printed 3 lines, $1. HERDMAN, 520 Belleville Ave., Belleville, N. J.

OPPORTUNITY

★Young Catholic man or woman, alert, well-read, diplomatic, to work in Co-op university book store. Pay low. Profits shared. Board. Run by Quaker. Send picture. 6314 W. McNichols, Detroit 21, Mich.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

20th Century-Fox Brings You
The Warm, Wonderful Story of

"A Man Called Peter"

CINEMASCOPE
Color by DE LUXE

There will be a new joy in the land...
a new glow inside you ...a new smile on your lips
...as you become part of the beloved book
that topped the nation's best-seller lists for 128 weeks.

It could only have been written
by the woman who loved him!

"I never thought much about being a girl until I learned from a man what a wonderful thing it was to be a woman"

starring
Richard TODD
Jean PETERS

In the Wonder of High-Fidelity
STEREOPHONIC SOUND

Produced by SAMUEL G. ENGEL · Directed by HENRY KOSTER · Screen Play by ELEANORE GRIFFIN

NOW! ROXY

CI 7-6000
7th AVE. & 50th ST.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED